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BEHIND THE SCENES.

True Inwardness of the Clash of Arms Between Us and Spain.

The war with Spain is ostensibly to secure the freedom of Cuba and incidentally to stop for all time "Spanish atrocities on this hemisphere." When it is understood that in Cuba and other West Indian islands the working man is a slave, and that American and English capitalists are to a great extent the beneficiaries of the slavery of the working class, it is readily seen that freedom f Cuba must mean something of interest to said capitalists, especially as they are the ones who are the most anxious for "freedom."

A knowledge of capitalists and capitalism makes one wary of the meaning attached to the word freedom when issuing from the mouths of capitalism. But an examination of certain facts, peculiar, in a sense, to all West Indian colonies under all flags will make suspicion of hypocrisy a certainty.

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Let me give some facts regarding conditions in the West Indies. I have seen a ship enter the harbor of Port Au Spain-Trinidad (British), loaded with coolies from India and the Straits settlements. The coolies were to work on the plantations, and had been bought by those who owned the plantations—American and English capitalists—for a term of years. These coolies were taken ashore and put to work under taskmasters of their own race, with American or English overseers. They were required to perform a certain amount of work, get a certain amount of food, and their slavery is dignified with the title of "contract labor." Those with whom they have contracted are forbidden to do certain things, such as whipping, starving, etc., yet are allowed to keep them at work as long as they please, imprison them, separate them from their families, contract them out to others, and, in some cases, have taken it upon themselves to inflict capital punishment. There is a class of "free laborers" on the island—negroes and Caribs—who are let roam at large unless the work is too great for the "contract laborers," when the "vagrancy act" gets in its fine work, and even men owning a little home and a patch of ground are compelled to go to work for the plantationists or take the alternative of going to jail, there to suffer for lack of food and drink.

What is true of the English colony of Trinidad is true of Barbadoes, Jamaica, the Bermudas, Bahamas and the other English islands in the West Indies.

The French islands Martinique, Guadaloupe, etc., have the same system, only differing in details.

In the Danish island of St. Thomas—the principal coaling station of the Windward Isles, I have known an American steamer to enter that harbor and find a scarcity of laborers to coal ship owing to the fact that work in that line had been good, and the laborers were enjoying themselves. The agent of the steamer—the American consul—notified the police of the necessity of coaling the ship, and they proceeded to arrest 35 women, who were immediately sentenced by the magistrate to what in this part of the country would be called the "chain gang," and put to work coaling the steamer.

Any sailor sailing to West Indian ports will be able to tell of similar instances.

CUBA.

In the last 15 years the sentiment of the people of Cuba has undergone a change regarding Americans. Previous to 1880, Americans were looked upon as friends of liberty and lovers of freedom, but since American capitalists have been operating mines, building railroads, etc., those who have to work have come to recognize the fact that "Los Americanos" are, if anything, worse than the Spanish.

The Spanish knew enough to allow the workers breathing space and time to recuperate, not that the Spaniard is any more humane or careful of the workers, but that hard experience has taught him that he was liable to kill himself with too much exertion if he was continually on the go looking after the laborers, and also that men died from the effects of 10 or 11 hours' continuous work in mine or on railroad in a comparatively short time. Not so with the "Young American" business man, who, fresh from factory, mine, shop or railroad in the United States, was given the position of United States consul and made superintendent of mine, or railroad; he was used to making men work and getting large profits for his boss.

So the Cuban found that instead of working 5, 6 or 7 hours under the Spaniard, he worked 10, 11, 12 or 13 under the American, and, as Cuba has practically the same vagrancy and labor laws as other West Indian islands, he also found that the American, superintendent, consul and agent used those laws against him as readily as did the Spaniard, and not being as "lazy" as said Spaniard, also having his eyes set on a larger pile, used the laws with greater severity.

Spanish and Cuban officials at last got on to the fact that if these American overseers were allowed to go ahead they would kill off all the workers, or cause a scarcity of laborers, so came to the conclusion that if "Los Americanos" wanted help in "subduing" the numerous "riots," "rebellions," etc., happening on American concessions, "Los Americanos" would have to pay for such help, i. e., troops. So they "raised the ante," and when the American superintendant, consul, agent, etc., etc., had "labor troubles" on his hands, and applied to the officials for help to "subdue the rebels," the Spanish and Cuban official would gently murmur, "No soldiers here now, manana," (to-morrow) with a quietly insinuated remark that "manana" could be made "to-day" by the payment of so much filthy lucre. The American, consul, superintendent, agent, etc., etc., stood that for awhile; then he thought of a brilliant scheme—he would get "Jamaica niggers"—the hardiest of all West Indian workers; likewise "Bermuda niggers." So he sent out schooners, sloops and other vessels to the various English islands and offered great inducements to the inhabitants thereof to come to work for him. But his day was short lived; the English superintendents, magistrates, agents, etc., etc., on those islands, finding that the American consul superintendent, etc., etc., was taking their supply of raw labor from them, abrogated the right of leaving his country, guaranteed to every British subject, and placed an embargo on laborers, even going to the extent of putting the prospective "raw material" of the American consul, etc., in limbo, and giving notice to the captains of his ships that if they tried to "kidnap"—that's what they called it—any more "free British subjects," they would be placed in the body of some British jail along with the "kidnapped."

Mr. American, superintendent, consul, etc., went back to his supply of Cuban raw material, but found that it cost considerably more than before, as the Spanish and Cuban officials had been aware of his attempt to get ahead of them via Jamaica and Bermuda, so soaked it to him all the harder, which made him inwardly resolve to "wallop those Spaniards out of their boots," and have his own government, which he could use without paying the immense tariff he did to the Spanish and Cuban "outragers of humanity."

Whilst this was going on he kept his company informed regarding the status of affairs, who had troubles of their own with the Spanish and Cuban officials, such as excessive duties on imports, taxes on exports, "excessive charges for silence" when a steamer's manifest was not correct. The Sugar Trust also had grievances against the Spanish in Cuba. They were having trouble with their laborers, and things kept going from bad to worse. Those prominent in the Sugar Trust thought of Hawawii, and how great a help the republic had been to them in securing for them "suitable laws" for the "regulating of labor," under which in four years they had been enabled to work the life out of 22,000 natives. A conference was held in New York in 1895, and shortly thereafter a "rebellion" broke out in the eastern provinces of Cuba. Simultaneously the papers of this country gave great amounts of space to the doings of the Cuban "revolutionists."

THE REVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

All the American agents and superintendents began furnishing the rebels with materials of war and supplies, whilst the Cubans in the employ of the American companies, such as assistant superintendents, overseers, etc., and those who had been confidential agents of American companies, Estrada Palma, Quesada, Rubens, etc., stayed in the U. S. as the Junta, whilst Cisneros, Masso, etc., went to Cuba. The real Cuban revolutionists, such as Aquirre, Maceo, Auzeron and others who wanted Cuba for the Cubans, not necessarily capitalistic, but those who believed in independence joined heartily in the rebellion, and were the real heart and soul of it, being revolutionists through and through, and not simply revolutionists for revenue only. Gomez belongs in the ranks of the revolutionists, and is true to the cause of independence, though he is of course of the middle class. Early in the rebellion the two elements—revolutionists, in fact, and the revolutionists for revenue—clashed, and the only left of those who were honestly for freedom for Cuba, that is of any importance, is Gomez, who is kept in his position for strategic purposes.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Martinez Campos, being an old, and for a Spanish grandee, humane man, allowed the rebels to gain great headway, and practically all the eastern provinces became the territory of the revolutionists and subject to their government.

The people of those provinces looked on indifferent to the progress of the revolution. What odds did it make to them who collected the taxes. It was the Spaniards last year; now it was the Cubans! What was the row about anyway? Then came the recall of Campos and the coming of that fiend incarnate, Weyler; a typical Spanish grandee, cruel and mercenary, who robbed the Spanish soldier and Cuban peasant impartially; whose only object was the prolongation of the rebellion, so that he and his satellites might gain fortunes; who crowned his infamy by his reconcentrado edict issued against not the rebels or those in sympathy with them, but the little plot-owning peasant, who cared for neither rebel or Spaniard so long as they did not put their taxes too high, and who held a position analogous to the spectator at a dog fight; who had no interest in either dog, and he literally made a waste of the country, all the time calling for more troops, and making a great show of doing a lot of fighting. By these means he and those of the government in Spain were enabled to keep the eyes of the great majority of the Spanish people off their stealings.

The revolution was collapsing, not through anything Weyler was doing, not really against his desire, but because the real revolutionists were being killed or forced out through the machinations of the Palmas, Betancourts, etc., who wanted ostensibly to pose as the leaders of a revolution of whites, but whose real desire was to prevent if possible the gaining of prominence by those of the people, such as Maceo, who might make a success of the rebellion and establish a government of Cubans, which could not be controlled by American capitalists. So that when Weyler was recalled by Sagasta, and Blanco—as like Weyler in aims as two peas—was sent out, he found, and so reported, nothing but a handful of bandits, who kept to the hills and would not fight. From an army of 12,000 in 1896-97, the "insurgents" had dropped to an insignificant handful late in 1897, and the beginning of this year, and so far as the newspaper correspondents I have spoken with who have been in Cuba could see, there was no trace of a rebellion. To use the words of a correspondent for a rabid pro-rebellionist paper here: "The rebellion don't amount to a d——. Spanish troops see bushes waving and shoot, then claim they have killed some rebels, but it's only done for effect."

Blanco is pursuing the same policy as Weyler, though he can only skin the Cubans and Spanish soldiers of what Weyler didn't think worth taking, and no one who knows the ability to skin displayed by Spanish grandees in Spain, where they cannot be as brazen as they can in Cuba, that means that Blanco is getting mighty poor picking; but as he is hungry, everything goes, so that for the reconcentrados, who were and are simply onlookers, and the Spanish soldiery, who are used to being robbed in Spain, times are indeed hard.

IN THIS COUNTRY.

To most people, the "gold bug" Republicans have been opposed to war with Spain, and the "free silver" Democrats, Populists and Republicans have been the ones who have been first, last and all the time for "freedom" for Cuba; and the self same free silverites have been getting lots of applause for standing for liberty and against "Spanish tyranny."

The Democrats and Populists have been using "Cuba" for all it was worth against the Republicans; yelling about how Hanna and McKinley were in the pay of the bond holders; opposed to freedom; didn't care a cuss for the misery of the Cubans, and proclaiming from the house tops how their hearts were being wrung by the misery in Cuba; how they and they alone were the only genuine blown-in-the-bottle friends of suffering humanity here and elsewhere. Though keeping their mouths shut about the shooting of strikers by "free silver" militia under the orders of "free silver" Governors and other things of a like character, whilst the Republicans, under Hanna, Reed and McKinley, were bent on enslaving and killing humanity everywhere, they got black in the face, short of wind and dry of throat in defence of human rights and opposition to bond-holders, trust-owners and other bad and wicked people. Meanwhile Hanna, McKinley, et al., went quietly about their business, preparing for war and acting to the last as double faced in their treatment of the Cuban question. When Hanna, Reed and McKinley thought they had the Democrats and Populists where they wanted them, that was in a position where they—the Dems and Pops—could not retreat, they made a rapid change of front. War was brought about and lo and behold, the Republicans were greater patriots, lovers of freedom and shouters for liberty than were the Democrats. With the fall elections staring them in the face, the Democrats saw, when it was too late how they had been trapped, and now they are in the background, whilst the Republicans are doing the getting-black-in-the face, shortness-of-wind, dryness-of-throat act, and will keep it up until election, expecting to be returned by an overwhelming vote.

And the Democrats? They're hiring black men to take them to some secluded place where they can receive consolation and dose their sorrows in the cup that drowns sorrow and memories of past asininity; between times cursing Cuba and wishing they had stuck to the tariff or free silver, as "Billy" Bryan wanted them to.

The hayseed Congressman from Mud Turtle Hollow and Peaceful Valley, who has for, lo these many years, been voting against an increase of the army and also increase in the appropriation for the Navy, being more in favor of post-office and river and harbor appropriations, can see now that he has been caught for a gudgeon, and sees his pickings from contracts for public buildings and improvements to Tom Toddy Creek disappearing in the capacious pockets of the coal trust, the steel trust, and the various other concerns who are selling ships, ammunition, clothing and supplies at enormous prices to an altogether too complaisant government.

And the spectacle the Allens, Simsons, Kyles, Bells and other erstwhile disturbers of the peace for trusts are now making of themselves is enough to make the gods weep. Each and all of them pestering the Secretary of the Navy and Army for slices of the pie now being dispensed in the shape of contracts and army positions for hungry constituents of theirs, and keeping their places in line, like the gallery gods at a theatre—when a bone in the shape of a contract for mules or horses, or a position as Major in the volunteers, is the biggest thing they hope for.

THE REAL MEANING OF THE WAR.

For some time China has been looked upon with hungry eyes by the capitalists of this and other countries, who, forced by the laws of their class, are compelled to seek ever more for markets. Russia has blocked England, while letting France and Germany have a small slice of the Chinese pie; but England does not intend to stay blocked; she has an agreement with China, and the United States is a party to that agreement. To make any attempt to capture part of that new market for the capitalists of this country requires a larger naval force and army than we now have. We will need ships to take territory, and men to hold the territory when taken. To attempt to do that in time of peace has failed; let us therefore raise trouble with some back-number country—Spain for instance, and during the excitement get what we want. Presto, it is done!

Why were the Philippines taken? Why, we thought it was Cuba we were going to take! So we were; but we can get that at any time; if we took Cuba before Manila Spain might sue for peace, and that would prevent us taking the Philippines, and the Philippines are not 700 miles from China—the unexploited land of immense promise of wealth and power. Savey?

RESULTS OF THE WAR.

Heretofore, whilst the United States has been securing a foothold in the world market and rapidly attaining position as a commercial power, politically she has been free to a great extent from outside entanglements. But capitalism in this country finds it must spread out and fight for markets. So from this time on until capitalism falls we are to have our ears tickled with accounts of what great people we are; how to keep up our greatness we need a large navy and army; how necessary it is that we secure markets for the products of our labor; therefore, how necessary it is that we secure a foothold and position where the market is—though we will not be told the truth that the greatest inducement to the capitalist in the securing of this market is the fact that cheap labor can be found there.

For the United States this war means leaping at one bound into all the worry and turmoil of constant conflict, either diplomatic or warlike, with other nations; a grand debauch of contract-letting, already smelling strongly of scandal; a hurrah of national glory lasting for some years, and then the awakening to the realization of what a drunk we have been on. Whilst all the time capitalism will be going on ever faster to its apex, and therefore its death—carrying in its wake war taxes, corruption, misery, want and degradation—making the necessity of Socialism ever more apparent as the only relief from the all too great strain of this awful system, whose roots are found in plunder, war and destitution, and whose branches exude penury, crime, prostitution, debauchery and fiendishness.

Let the Socialists keep up their fight against this system and the class responsible for it. This war had to come; it is here; it can work but good to our cause here and our cause in Spain. Here it will hurl us full armed into the last battle with capitalism. On Spain its effect will be to relieve the working class of the burden of the colonies run medievally, which have drained the country of its youth, and caused untold misery, and also kept in existence that old and decrepid feudalism with its hidalgos and hierarchy, and clear away the underbrush which now stands between the proletariat and capitalism.

Yet, while we say to capitalism in this country and feudalism in Spain: "Fight you terriers, you're no relation of ours," let us remember that capitalism here and feudalism there are just now lining up the working class of this country and the working class of that country in a fight which concerns them not; that is our duty to point out to the working class that war is inevitable under capitalism and impossible under Socialism. Let us keep to the front the ever going-on battle between Capitalism and Socialism, between the capitalist class and the proletariat, which can only end with the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of Socialism.

Workingmen of all countries unite.

ARTHUR KEEP.

Washington, D. C.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 20 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

While the dust of "patriotism" is suffocating the senses, the capitalist administration is putting in its fine licks, robbing the inventors of their rights. One of these, Tice, claimed from the Government $25,000 for the use of an invention of his to measure distilled liquor with. Congress granted the claim, knowing it would not go through; and it didn't. The Syndicated President is just now so full of altruism, he is so filled with the sufferings of the oppressed in foreign countries that he has no time to protect our own people—at least not those who are not in his syndicate. The result is that he "could not see" why this inventor should be protected in his rights!

General Merritt, one of the oldest of our Federal Army men, and credited with a great reputation generally, is setting a wondrous example of obedience to law. He was appointed the chief of the expedition to the Philippines, and what does he do but roundly decline to go unless a larger force of seasoned regulars be given to him. He does not care how many or how few the "volunteers" may be; but he insists upon a goodly number of regulars.

Apart from the slap in the face to the volunteers implied by this demand, the General's example of patriotism is novel. Nor will it be the only one. There are more coming.

"ARBITRATION."

Lithographers' Experience of its Efficacy in Labor Disputes.

"The People's" Forecast, Made May 24, 1896, Now Substantiated—Arbitration is Sensible Between Kindred Interests Only, Between Labor and Capital There is Nothing to Arbitrate—There is No Room For Arbitration Between Right and Wrong.

Bishop Potter recently delivered a labor sermon in which he spoke very favorably of arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes. As one who took part in a labor dispute or strike, arbitrated by the Bishop, I would like to state a few facts and make some comments.

A little over two years ago the Lithographic Artists of New York City, to the number of 330, struck for the abolition of piece-work, the regulation of apprentices, a minimum wage of $18 a week, time and a half pay for overtime work, and a reduction of the hours of labor from 48 to 44 per week. After five weeks of idleness, the matter was referred to the Bishop for arbitration. He decided the first four of the above five points in favor of the men. This was immediately heralded as a triumph of arbitration. But was it? Let us see.

To-day every one of the above disputed points are in greater force in the lithographic artists' departments than before the strike; and, in addition, the lithographic artists are without a protective organization such as they had at the time. THIS IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE ARBITRATION COULD NOT BE ENFORCED. The employers systematically intimidated the men at work, or so arranged their hours of labor as to harrass them and make them weary of the struggle, and, finally, cause them to withdraw from the union. The intimidation of employers was called to the Bishop's notice even during arbitration. He could only express his disgust at the employers' action in return.

It must not be inferred from this that the employees submitted to intimidation without protest or an attempt at resistance. Some sought by strategems to defeat the object of the employers; while a few suffered discharge. The majority appealed to the union; but as the union had used up all of the funds available (about ($19,000) it could not give them the financial support desired.

If this is so, then I believe arbitration is a failure as a means of settling labor disputes. As long as the power of enforcing arbitration is left to the employer, so long will the morally victorious employee be defeated in the end. The Bishop should take notice of this, and, besides expressing his disgust for employers, he should help to deprive them of their economic power by advocating Socialism. But as the Bishop is engaged in the hopeless task of reconciling the irreconcilables, I have my doubts about his doing that.

To my fellow litho-artists, especially those who took part in the above strike and arbitration, I would say: Tear yourselves away from the idea of arbitration as a means of settling the labor problem; your experience justifies you in doing so. Also, while I am addressing you, give up your devotion to those other false ideas: Protection and old trades unionism (of which more later). Turn to the new trades unionism and Socialism.

BROOKLYNIAN.
12 May, 1898.

Havana, in particular, Cuba, in general, are blockaded, and the price of food is there said to be going up, and up.

But we are not blockaded, and the price of food is going up here, up, up, up.

How is that?

The fact is we ARE blockaded. The country ruled by capitalists is a country in the hands of its enemies; its strong places are occupied by it; its ports are blockaded; it suffers all the hardships of a country into which foreign soldiers have made an inroad.

The next thing on the programme for our people will be a Governmental decree pronouncing strikes a military offence.

Owing to the war large numbers of workingmen are being laid off, and in not a few instances reductions of wages are taking place. Strikes are the inevitable results. And back of them loom up the regiments left at home to "settle" such riots as unpatriotic.

While our "capitalists of the ring" are in the war business, he who sneezes and interferes with their patriotism is proportionally un-patriotic, un-American, and must be treated accordingly.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Peter Steenmans, Jr., 52 Guilford street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers in arrears are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

13th CONGRESSIONAL.

An Opportunity to Assert the Stand of Labor.

The Congressional Election to Fill the Vacancy in the 13th District of Massachusetts, Offers the First Opportunity Since '96 For the Class-Conscious Proletariat of the Land to Assert them Themselves—The Fight there is the Fight of All of Us.

BOSTON, May 15—The promptness of the Socialist Labor party in the Thirteenth Congressional district of this State, and especially Section New Bedford, in nominating a candidate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Simkins, is to be commended. Walter P. J. Skanan, of New Bedford, has been nominated as the standard bearer of the Socialist Labor party at the special election which takes place May 31.

The district comprises New Bedford, Fall River, Nantucket, Provincetown, Barnstable, Sandwich and thirty other small towns on Cape Cod. At the election in 1896 John Simpkins (Republican) got 17,685 votes and John F. Morris (Democrat) 5,993. The total vote cast in Fall River for both candidates being 9,660 and in New Bedford 5,435; as likely ground for the election of a Socialist Congressman as there is in the country—the district, too, comprising the landing place of the Mayflower in 1620.

In some respects this election is the most important in which the Socialist Labor party has engaged. In the first place, it is the first election of a national character since the famous bunco game played upon the workers by Hanna, McKinley, Prosperity & Co. in 1896. And as the game was worked most successfully in these parts there are very many workmen waiting for an opportunity to "kick."

In the second place, for four months three thousand operatives in the principal town in the district have been on strike against starvation wages, and the operatives in the other principal town have been assisting the strikers with funds from their scanty wages; unless all signs fail, May 31, 1898, will be a red letter day for the Socialist Labor party in Massachusetts and the country.

It is an election in which the party in the State and country ought to be deeply interested and active.—As there is no Congressional committee in organization covering the district, it is the duty of the State Committee in such an emergency as this, if possible, to supply the munitions of war and send its secretary on the ground to direct and conduct the fight—unlike Christmas, which comes once a year, an opportunity with conditions such as exist in the Thirteenth district comes but seldom; the Socialist vote will be large, very large any way; but it may be made to mount into the thousands. Both the State Committee and the National Committee should at once hurry all the forces possible to New Bedford and Fall River. This is the season of the year when open-air meetings can be held and parades may be formed with no great expense, and who knows but that a repetition of what took place in Maine in 1878—may follow in this district—when Thompson H. Murck, stone cutter, as the labor candidate, whipped Eugene Hale in the strongest Republican district in New England and was elected to Congress from the Third Maine district.

Andrew J. Jennings, corporation lawyer of Fall River and former corporation member of the Legislature; Thomas C. Day, lawyer of Barnstable, and Postmaster Green, of Fall River, are the candidates for the Republican nomination.

Walter Skahan, the Socialist candidate, was born in New Bedford in 1873, and is therefore 25 years of age; he is a clerk in New Bedford, and is highly regarded by all who know him; he has been a member of the party for a number of years.

Arthur J. Hale, 26 Bullock street, New Bedford, is the secretary of the Campaign Committee, to whom all funds should be sent—there is no time to lose. All who intend to respond should do so at once. It would be a calamity should the proper number of signatures not be secured to enable the candidate to go on the ballot. It is never certain until the papers are filed at the State House.

LATER.—Boston, May 18.—The nomination papers of the Socialist Labor party for Walter P. J. Kahan, candidate for Congress, 13th Massachusetts District, were filed at the State House yesterday.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

Syracuse, N. Y.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	**2,068**
In 1890	**13,331**
In 1892 (Presidential)	**21,157**
In 1894	**33,133**
In 1896 (Presidential)	**36,564**
In 1897	**55,673**

Fear is an instructor of great sagacity, and the herald of all revolutions. One thing he teaches, that there is rottenness where he appears. He is a carrion crow, and though you see not well what he hovers for, there is death somewhere. Our property is timid, our laws are timid, our cultivated classes are timid. Fear for ages has boded, and mowed, and gibbered over government and property. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be revised.

Emerson.

DOWN WITH McCULLAGH!

Last Monday, the first overt initial step was taken by the Socialist Labor party of the Greater New York to bring to condign punishment he Chief of Police of this city, and, through him, the felon class that he represents, and whose behests he obeyed in infringing the civic rights of this city's working class by repressing the May Day demonstration.

At Monday's mass-meeting, held at Cooper Union under the presidency of Comrade Charles H. Matchett, a veteran of the late Civil War, the party's position was fully explained and its plans outlined.

The following resolutions, adopted by the meeting, give in condensed form the feelings expressed and the course that has been decided on:

WHEREAS, The Chief of Police of the Greater New York has, without warrant of law and in violation of law, prevented the parade and open air mass meeting of the Socialist Labor party and Trade and Labor organizations on the 30th of last April;

WHEREAS, By so doing, he has arrogated to himself the powers of censorship, for which he is morally and mentally unfit, and which are granted in this State and County to no official, and has, furthermore, presumed to take a step that virtually amounts to placing this city under a state of siege, at his will;

WHEREAS, Such acts, heinous under all circumstances, are all the more so when directed against an officially recognized political party in this State, and thereby are a blow that aims at political freedom itself; therefore be it, by this mass meeting, called by the Socialist Labor party of New York,

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of the Chief of Police as a usurpation of power, which reveals his unfitness for the office he fills;

RESOLVED, That proceedings be fortwith instituted against this lawbreaker and official malefactor, looking to rid the community of his incumbency as a menace to the peace of the city and the freedom of its people;

RESOLVED, That we appeal to all right-minded citizens who have at heart the right of freedom of speech, and the holding of public servants to the proper filling of their offices, to aid us morally and financially in obtaining the redress that we seek.

The enthusiasm of the meeting was boundless from start to finish. It was an appeal to the nation at large to recognize in the fight against McCullagh a fight for the maintenance of political freedom, assailed in the assault against the S. L. P.

Incidentally, the war itself came up for treatment, and the Socialist position was made clear, branding this war a capitalist conspiracy to sell out the country to the international capitalist interests that have their chief seat in London, and to mask that conspiracy with the false claim of love for Cuba's freedom, and the falser claim of wishing to avenge the ill-fated Maine marines,—while, in fact, both Cuban slavery and the death of the Maine marines were gloated over by the cormorant class of capitalists in power here, as furnishing them plausible pretexts to loot the Federal Treasury more freely, and thus enrich themselves more extensively at the cost of the blood of the American proletariat.

The meeting was an impressive affair, well calculated to mark an epoch in the history of the Labor Movement in America.

IF A "CAPTAIN" IN INDUSTRY, WHY NOT IN WAR, THINKS HE.

Mr. O. H. P. Belmont, a New York capitalist, offered the United States to build, equip and present the Government with a torpedo boat. If he had gone no further, and placed no conditions to his offer, the incident would simply have afforded the praise-singers of the robber class in Congress with fresh opportunity to dilate upon the "superb patriotism" of the rich, as they did when the daughter of the deceased brigand Jay Gould "patriotically" donated the other day $100,000 to the Government out of the wealth that her father took from the American working class and left to her to be generous and to her sister to buy a French Count-husband with. But Mr. Torpedo-Boat Belmont coupled a condition to his gift, to wit, that he be the Commander-in-Chief of his boat.

The Government rejected the offer on account of the condition; and Mr. Belmont is wondering. And well he may.

Mr. Belmont has been feasted as a "Captain of Industry." His safe or safe deposit vault is stuffed with stocks—not of one, but of a score of industries. These industries are run by wage slaves from top to bottom. They "captain" it and "crew" it. He does nothing, not the least thing in either running those several industries, or in producing the smallest particle of the wealth they turn out. And yet he has not only the practical results but the glory; not only he pockets the wealth, leaving to the workers the crumbs, but he is decked with the title of "Captain of Industry."

Is it to be wondered at that this fly on the industrial wheel, finding himself styled "Captain of Industry," and the title vociferously defended by professors, politicians and parsons, should conclude that, seeing the ownership of capital is enough to confer upon him the standing and the title of "Captain of Industry," notwithstanding he knows nothing of and does nothing in industry, it should also be enough to confer upon him the title of "Captain of a Torpedo Boat," although he knows not starboard from port, taffrail from poop, nor the division of a battle knows more than a spinster?

Well may Mr. Belmont wonder. As to him, it is not likely he will draw any conclusion from the rebuff he has received other than that he failed in his expectations because he had not enough "pull"; the horizon of the capitalist's mind is bounded by such views. But the masses of the people, that large working class that has to "captain" and "man" the industrial ships, and yet is deprived of both the profit and the honor of doing so,—that mass may draw from Mr. Belmont's rebuff a valuable lesson. The working class will learn that, under the capitalist system, we go to war against the permanent foe of the race—hunger, thirst and the weather—, as a mob, led by idlers and ignoramuses; but that, when it comes to going to war against fellow men, then we go to war as an organized body, led only by the trained and the able.

Not an unimportant lesson.

PARSON vs. PARSON.

Socialists are not in the habit of breaking a lance in favor of our own home parsons. Nor do we propose to do that now. We know that, with hardly an exception, our American parsons, whatever trade mark they may be of, look at their church only as a shop and at their pulpit only as a retail counter,—just as any dealer in shoes, or lard, or stationary, or lager beer. We know that, animated by that view, our parsons' class, as a whole, proceeds strictly upon business principles. Just as the retailer will deal only in such goods as the wholesale firm, that "has a sinch upon him," allows, so our parson class deals only in such theories—political, economic, social and moral—, as the mortgagee capitalists, who hold a mortgage upon its "shop" and pay its wages dictate. Hence it is no cause for surprise to hear our parsons, in numerous instances, just now echoing the interests of the capitalist in the prospective United States bonds that the war may require, pronouncing the war a holy thing, and contributing their best in aiding their paymasters to conceal the sordid motives, nay, the inhuman motives, still worse, the traitorous motives, that lie at the bottom of this war. Nevertheless, felonious though the conduct of these American war parsons is, it almost pales before that of the war parsons in Spain.

> The Bishop of Madrid, Spain, has just issued a pastoral letter, to be read throughout his diocese, in which he denounces the American people in these words:
>
> "The Americans have trampled justice under foot, have twisted the Pope's words awry, have spurned intervention with arrogance, have barred the road for peace and forced on the horrors of war."

There is no defence possible of our own capitalist Government; but condemnation can not be uttered upon it, without falling with equal force upon the capitalist-feudal Government of Spain. Had not the brigand class, that, in Spain, holds the reins of power, and for which that Madrid Bishop prays, being his mortgagee, committed cruelties untold at our very doors, the brigand class, that in our own country, holds the reins of Government, would have had no pretext behind which to conceal the murderous instincts that drive it to seek wider markets over the corpses of thousands of our citizens and athwart the turbulence of war; had a Queen Regent, for whom that Madrid Bishop prays, not shouted with joy at the murder of Maceo, and virtually adopted the sons of the Spanish officer under whose command that sinister act was committed, our own "Syndicated President" would have had one pretext less to push for war, and would have been by so much weaker in his push; had the "Christian" Government of Spain, whose spiritual adviser that Madrid Bishop is, been trained by that precious "Child in Christ," not, as he found it to his profit to do, in the teachings of Satan, but in those of the "Prince of Peace," then our "pious" McKinley and his Sugar, Armor and other Trust fellow-saints would have found their way a rougher one to travel, and the peoples of the two nations might not now be at each other's throats.

But profitless it is to establish, among rotten apples, the relative rottenness of each. We shall spend no time in the vain attempt to weigh the wickedness of the two sets of parsons. Suffice it to point out, that "religion," like "patriotism," is, under capitalism, not different from any merchandise—everything is for sale.

The cable despatches about Gladstone's dying, coming in at the time that the press and the "patriots" are teeming with the glorious idea of an alliance with England, are timely reminders of the British Government's sentiments for freedom and for this country.

Gladstone is admittedly a representative man of the English ruling Class. Political friends and foes join in calling him the "Grand Old Man," G. O. M. for short. His attitude at that critical period of our national existence, when about one-half of the land rose in arms for the double purpose of breaking up the Union, and of establishing a Government of its own "with chattel slavery as its cornerstone," surely is interesting.

During the Civil War, Gladstone was not only a foe to the North but a friend to the South,—consequently to the Secessioners' purpose of breaking up the nation and setting their cornerstone. In public and unofficial, and in official address he stabbed the North habitually in the back, and did all that in him lay to give, at least, moral aid and comfort to the copper-heads. Thus, at a most critical period in our existence, with a gigantic war upon our hands, with the Emperor Napoleon III. setting up the Maximilian Empire at our very gates in Mexico,—at that period the hypocrisy of the British ruling class for the freedom of the slave was laid bare, and it was laid bare by the unfriendly conduct towards us of the English G. O. M.

How truly the circle has been turned. And it has been turned, not by the ruling class of England, but by ours. Bitterly hostile to their "English cousins" then, they have developed up to these cousins, to these systematic producers of famine in India, to these international buccaneers, whose escutcheon is bespattered with the blood of all the races of the globe! Now they are ready for an alliance with that gentry.

Let it come!

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The New York "Evening Post" stockholders are evidently being punished for that paper's having long voiced the interests of the American holders of Spanish bonds, and, consequently, having long been shouting against the war. What other explanation is to be given to this criticism that it offers of the Washington Administration of the war?

> "The army has for years suffered not only from wire-pulling in the matter of staff duty and 'soft' details, but in appointments as well, some of the best staff positions having been given to civilians, which should have gone to some of the gray-haired captains whose long frontier service certainly entitles them to every proper consideration. While some of the civilians appointed to the volunteer staff yesterday are graduates of West Point, it is very noticeable that a number of the names sent in are those of relatives of Senators, Representatives and office-holders. EVEN THE SECRETARY OF WAR HAS NOT HESITATED TO SECURE THE NOMINATION OF HIS SON—STILL AN UNDERGRADUATE AT HARVARD—TO A CAPTAINCY, WHILE SENATORS MURPHY, OF NEW YORK, AND FORAKER, OF OHIO, HAVE PROVIDED FOR THEIR SONS SIMILARLY. A NUMBER OF OTHER YOUNG MEN, INCLUDING RUSSELL B. HARRISON, JOHN A. LOGAN, AND CREIGHTON WEBB, WHOSE SOLE CLAIM TO MILITARY RECOGNITION IS THEIR SOCIAL STANDING, THEIR WEALTH, OR THE SIZE OF THEIR 'PULLS,' ARE ON THE LIST."

No sane man, at least none who is informed, will for a moment be taken in by that paper's pretence of not considering "wealth" or "social standing" ample reason to secure sine-cures, even in the military forces, provided, of course, it be not (as Mr. Torpedo Boat Belmont wanted) a captainship, especially not in the navy. Every informed man knows that that organ of the rifle-diet-to-the-working-class is of the opinion that the "soft" places are there for the idle capitalist and his spawn, while the workingman is there only for the hard places.

The "Evening Post's" stockholders, without a doubt have made up their own list of whipper-snappers in college and otherwise for military and other sinecures, but must have failed to get appointments for their protegés on account of the paper's slowness to see the exhilarating "patriotism" that there is in the prospect of American investors in Spanish bonds having to wait for their premiums. All its present patriotic enthusiasm for war does not seem to pacify the ire of the "patriots from the start."

It serves the "Evening Post" right for its dilatory patriotism.

What is the matter with the Indianapolis, Ind., "Sentinel"? It says:

> "A republic that launches upon an era of world dominion violates all the principles of liberty, and in time will itself become a tyrant. Therefore this cry for annexation should receive its merited condemnation, for if one distant island is annexed the precedent is established for another to be annexed."

It must be that its owners have no "interests in China" that need looking after, or have "interests in America" that may be put in jeopardy if some other concern starts that line of trade among the Chinese cheap laborers.

The New York "Press" of the 17th instant, in the course of a report of the cooper Union mass meeting of the Socialist Labor party of the previous evening, says:

> "The chief speaker was Daniel De Leon. He said . . . . . Spain had been the friend of Labor. . . . He created great enthusiasm when he said he had no sympathy with the outcry about the Maine disaster. The Maine men had gone forth to murder, and their death at that time only prevented more wholesale murder that would have followed."

There is not a passage or sentiment, herein alleged to have occurred or to have been expressed in that speech, that is true. It is a deliberate bit of mendacity, feloniously put into that comrade's mouth to make it appear that the Socialist Labor party takes sides with Spain in this conflict, and rejoices over the sinister act that caused over two hundred of our marines, bunked, pursuant to the inhuman spirit of the capitalist social system, near the powder magazines, to find their deaths in Havana's harbor.

Is this transfer, to the field of capitalist journalism, of the cheating practised by the capitalist class in its commercial transactions; is this well-nigh libel to be deprecated? No. On the contrary, there are good reasons why it should be welcomed.

The Socialist Labor party can not be the leader of geese. For its success it must have men, thoughtful, honest, intelligent. The purpose of the "Press" lie is to arouse in the ranks of the wage earners who read it antipathy for the S. L. P., and thus seek to disconnect them from the only political organization that represents their interests, that has at all times bravely stood up for these interests, that alone counteracts the floods of misinformation dumped by the exploiters upon the workers, and that, as the "Press" knows full well, alone can lead to the workers' emancipation from the yoke of capitalism.

To what extent will the "Press" succeed? Only to the extent that the wage earners who read it are chicken-headed. Only to the extent that these are able to forget the foulness of the source of their "information" upon what the Comrade mentioned did say. Only to the extent that the wage earners are able to forget that the "Press" gloried in the Luzerne County massacre of workingmen by Sheriff Martin, that it had no condemnation for that miscarriage of justice that acquitted the murder, that it approved and applauded the riotous conduct of the Seventh Regiment in the Brooklyn trolley strike, that it applauded and approved the militia's conduct in the Buffalo strike, etc., etc., that it is an upholder and defender of the Trust,—in a word, that it is a mouthpiece of Hanna and Hannaism. To the extent, and to that extent only, that the wage earners can, accordingly, fail to see that from the columns of a Republican capitalist paper only harm can come to them, and have not yet learned or have forgotten that the S. L. P. is their only friend and stand-by—only to that extent will the "Press" succeed. And it is welcome to such success.

But while in that way the "Press" and its likes may, possibly, render valuable service to the solidification of the movement destined to put an end to the mephitic social system that can produce "Presses," it nevertheless deserves the contempt of all self-respecting people.

Was it intentional or unintentional wit on the part of the Cleveland, O., "Citizen" to close the following news item with the information that it does?

> Last week the Colorado State Federation met. Nothing startling happened. Two factions—one leaning toward the A. F. of L. and the other showing partiality for the proposed Western Federation—pulled and hauled for a while, but neutral ground was taken by holding aloof from both federations. Nearly every progressive measure presented is referred to in the proceedings as 'it was tabled.' A RESOLUTION DENOUNCING THE EDITOR OF THE N. Y. 'PEOPLE' WAS CARRIED."

No doubt that last sentence clinches the situation. It comes like effect upon cause. Were the resolution not as long and proportionally vapid as it is we would have reproduced it.

Likewise the Atlanta, Ga., "Commercial" seems to have pulled on an unsuccessful line of "patriotism" and must have been left out like the N. Y. "Evening Post" and the Indianapolis "Sentinel," it is actually unpatriotic enough to declare that:

> "McKinley and his whole Cabinet are a lot of jackanapes, and Sampson is simply a seafaring fool."

It must be galling to the representatives in Congress of the silver-mine syndicates, who are trying "patriotically" to protect the interests of silver by opposing the Republican scheme of interest paying bonds, to have an organ of theirs yield so completely to the howl of the gold bugs that the silver bugs are "unpatriotic," as does the Cincinnati, O., "Enquirer" when it declares:

> "What Congress is going to do should be done promptly. The will of the majority should be speedily recorded. There is no party question to settle now. Until a treaty of peace is proclaimed, there is only one party in the United States. There is no objection to reasonable discussion, but the general impression cannot be restrained that the most of the talking should be done with the guns of the army and navy. The discussion of abstract economic questions can be resumed after the war."

Of the many despicable attitudes of cowardice which some people are to-day striking in the country, none is comparable with that of the silverites who allow themselves, to their undoing, to be whipped into line by the goldites, and vote as gold-bug interests dictate, lest, forsooth, they be denounced as "unpatriotic."

But no knowledge, no bravery.

Ex-Senator Peffer has bought the Independence, Kans., "Star and Kansan." Since that event, with every mail we expect a postal card from the office of "Star and Kansan" informing us that it does not care to continue to exchange with THE PEOPLE. Soon after Peffer found out that THE PEOPLE was not to be taken in with phrases and had peered through him, and was laying him bare, such a postal card came from the "Kansas Farmer," a paper that Peffer owned since before his election to the Senate. When, subsequently, in pursuit of the silverite plan to buy up "kicking" populist papers, he bought the Topeka, Kans., "Advocate" and ousted Dr. McLallen from the editorship, a second such card turned up here in due time. What is keeping the third postal card from coming, this time from the office of the "Star and Kansan"? It certainly is overdue.

Comrades acquainted with Bohemian workingmen should not fail to notify these of the founding in this city of a bona fide Bohemian workingman's paper—"Pravda"—, and securing their subscription.

"Pravda's" address is 414 E. 71st street, New York. Price 50 cents for 3 months, $2 per year.

Will All Have Enough and to Spare.

(A SOCIALISTS' SONG.)

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Peter E. Burrowes.]

(Tune: "The Red White and Blue."

When steam at the bidding of science,
This century's achievements began;
We thought strong old Nature's alliance
Had revoked the slave charter of man;—
"That bread is the crown of endeavor,
That hope beyond that must forbear,"
in the days that are coming, no, never,
For we'll all have enough and to spare.

CHORUS:

We'll all have enough and to spare,
We'll all have enough and to spare,
From the Socialist dawn and for ever,
We'll all have enough and to spare.

* * *

While labor in vision lay sleeping,
With soul looking on life's plains,
The lords of the kingdom came creeping
And bound him in wagery's chains.
Oh, who in this day will restore us!
When workers who think are so rare;
Who hope for the good time before us
When all will have enough and to spare.

CHORUS:

We'll all have enough and to spare,
We'll all have enough and to spare,
Ch, think of the good time before us
We'll all have enough and to spare.

* * *

And labor raised luxury's palace,
And covered with beauty its walls,
And filled the machine master's chalice,
And lit up his banquetting halls.
But though by his skill he delighted,
And made life so wondrously fair,
He was sent to his hovel benighted
And hardly of sunshine had share.

CHORUS:

We'll all have enough and to spare,
We'll all have enough and to spare,
With the brain and the ballot united,
We'll all have enough and to spare.

* * *

How long will ye linger, my brothers!
How long will ye labor alone!
Ye bringers of gladness to others,
When shall ye have joy of your own?
Must always your wages be sorrow?
Has labor no banner to bear?
Arise for the victory to-morrow!
When we'll all have enough and to spare.

CHORUS:

We'll all have enough and to spare,
We'll all have enough and to spare,
Hurrah for the glorious to-morrow!
We'll all have enough and to spare.

* * *

So cast off your gloomy repining;
He misses the lark who sleeps on.
Shall the Socialist day be full shining,
And you not yet risen for the dawn!
Your fathers lost all while they slumbered;
But this is no time to be there.
As sure as the stars are unnumbered,
We'll all have enough and to spare.

CHORUS:

We'll all have enough and to spare,
We'll all have enough and to spare,
As sure as the stars are unnumbered,
We'll all have enough and to spare.

* * *

When hope shall have bloomed in possession,
Shall Justice, with sword in her hand,
For the days of the former oppression,
Swift counting with tyrants' demand?
Ah, no! Though our faces be blighted,
Sore smitten with years of despair;
'Tis peace when the folk are united,
When we all have enough and to spare.

CHORUS:

We'll all have enough and to spare,
We'll all have enough and to spare,
Farewell to the wrongs that are righted,
We'll all have enough and to spare.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—Do you know anything about Socialism?

Uncle Sam—A thing or two.

B. J.—Then you are the man I want to meet. I want to ask a question about it.

U. S.—Let's have it.

B. J.—Under collective industry would wealth be reckoned by weight and measure, or by dollars and cents, or by some other process.

U. S.—Me seems your question involves a confusion of thought.

B. J.—Eh?

U. S.—When you mention "weight and measure" in the same breath as "dollars and cents" you do.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—Because "dollars and cents" are the conception of a social idea or system, while "weight and measure" are natural conceptions. Everything has weight, everything has size; nor can we imagine such expressions as these: "Three yards of coffee," or "One pound of book," etc. The conceptions of weight and measure are bound to continue; they are in the nature of things. On the other hand, "money" is a measure of value, created exclusively by the system of individual production for sale—a social system that eventually develops into capitalism. That measure of value, being the creature and consequence of a certain social system, and not the result of any inherent quality in the things it measures, cannot, like "weight and measure," be permanent, but is bound to change according as the system that it is a reflection of changes. A long thing casts a long shadow, a round one a round shadow, etc. So with "dollars and cents," they are the shadows cast by individual production; collective production has its own shape of shadow.

B. J.—Very well. Then, money—"dollars and cents" would vanish. What would take their places.

U. S.—In THE PEOPLE,—do you ever see that paper?

B. J.—I think I saw it once.

U. S.—You ought to see it regularly once a week, and read it carefully. In THE PEOPLE, about two years ago, the matter was treated very fully and luminously. It was treated in a speech delivered by the French Socialist Labor party Deputy, Jules Guesde, in the French Chambers. A similar question was then asked to him——

B. J.—How did he answer it?

U. S.—You ought to get that copy. I'll here just give a rough outline. Under this capitalist system of production, even the fundamental law of value is perverted. What gives value to an article is the amount of labor that there is in it; yet under this system we find frequently that the articles, that cost most labor or life-issue, are often cheap.

B. J.—That's so!

U. S.—But these freaks of capitalism do not alter the central truth. Now, then, the value of things, in the collective system, is not subject to such aberrations. The measure of their value is the amount of life-tissue they absorb in production. The amount of yards of cloth, of pounds of butter, of tons of coal that are equal to one another, depends upon the amount of life-tissue they contain; equal amounts of life-tissues transmuted into useful articles are equal and exchangeable. That is the measure of value in collectivism.

B. J. (after reflecting a while)—But that is substantially the theory now, and "dollars and cents" are needed as the things in which to express value.

U. S.—Correct. Under an individualistic system that is necessary. Under a collective system it is not. Vouchers for labor performed by one man will secure to him the goods produced by another to the amount of similar labor.

B. J.—But who is to determine the relative value of work. Some work is pleasant, other disagreeable.

U. S.—An easy thing. The more agreeable the work, the more applicants for it there will be; the more disagreeable the work the less applicants. The result would be the establishing an equalibrium between the two. The numbers of applicants for each will do that. Thus, the more numerous the applicants for one class of work and the fewer the applicants for another, it would follow that a larger number of hours of work in the former is needed to exchange for a smaller number of hours of work in the latter.

B. J.—Accordingly, vouchers representing the life-tissue expended in production would take the place of money, and be the medium for distribution or exchange?

U. S.—You have got it now.

B. J.—Then metallic money would not be needed. The vouchers could be printed on paper.

U. S.—Correct.

B. J.—But that is the Greenback idea.

U. S.—Only with this important difference that the Greenback idea places the cart before the horse, and Socialism does not. The Greenbackers seek to establish the money of collective production before they have established the system of collective production. Now "money" or the medium of exchange, as I told you before, is the shadow or reflection of a social system. The Greenbacker would have the shadow or reflection before setting up the body to throw that shadow. The Socialist proceeds to set up the system first, its "money" reflection would come of itself as all reflexions or shadows do. Now think this over.

B. J.—I shall.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:

Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.

Cohan's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.

Cronsdell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

THE DRUG TRADE.

Shall Aid Come to the Distressed Knight of Mortar and Pestle?

Of all the trades and occupations, the conditions of few are so generally misunderstood as those of the drug clerk.

While the workers in the building trades, in the productive and distributive agencies of industry draw the attention of the public by their numerous organizations, meetings, and strikes, it is only the Knight of the Mortar and Pestle who works from twelve to seventeen hours a day, under unsanitary conditions, who escapes the attention of all. Unlike his fellow-workers in other occupations, who may draw some cheer or comfort, in working together in large numbers, he has to work isolated, there being seldom more than one clerk in a drug store.

In the dingy back room that is usually attached to drug stores, he is compelled to work from morning till night, at an average of about fifteen hours a day, under the watchful eye of the exacting, cranky employer. In many cases he has to sleep in the same dingy back room, amidst the injurious vaporings of drugs and chemicals, and often deprived of the necessary accommodations to dwellings. When he is interrupted in his work to wait on customers, whose recourse to drugs shows them to be people mostly of morbid disposition, he has to patiently and forbearingly endure their offending, dissatisfied-in-advance manner of conversation. He must be polite, for in the rear the proprietor is ready to remind him that at the next corner is another drug store, where the customer can go to, or else that there are other drug clerks who will be polite. He has seldom any holiday, except his mid-weak afternoon. He has no time for recreations or sociables, and, as a result, is deprived of the opportunity to make acquaintances and friends. By reason of lack of time, he takes no interest in politics, can have no social intercourse with his fellow-drug slaves; no pleasures of the club, for he has no organization.

But the long hours of work, the lack of rest and recreation, and the enervating occupation of waiting on nervous and irritable customers, all these notwithstanding, he must be always cool-headed and have his wits about him. Because he must make prescriptions, where the least inattention or carelessness may cause injury or even death to the patient. And should there occur a mistake, which any son of erring mankind is liable to make, then woe to the drug clerk. Relatives of the patient will come numerously represented and will threaten bodily harm or legal proceedings. Then will come the doctor to do his duty to the patient and mankind in general, and will rebuke the unfortunate clerk in strong and selected language. Next the proprietor will scold him in language perhaps not quite so selected, but a good deal stronger, and, perhaps, dishonorably discharge him. And lastly, legal proceedings and conviction may follow.

But such is the life of the matured drug clerk, either licensed or graduated from a college of pharmacy. To achieve this state of full-fledgedness he must suffer and struggle. If he was not fortunate enough to have saved from previous work a few hundred dollars, or has no parents, who, from a life of toil and privations, perhaps, saved that sum to pay his way through college, during which time he has to mingle study with long hours of work, then it means that during several years of apprenticeship in drug stores, poorly paid and overworked, he, in the few hours assigned to rest had to study, so as to enable himself to pass an examination of a board of pharmacy to obtain his license, as till that time his services are of but little value to the employer.

But after this hard road is passed and the goal is reached, after the apprentice, evolved into a full-fledged pill-maker, with all the hard work and responsibility that this occupation implies, is he well paid in compensation for all the hardships of the life of a drug clerk? Not at all. In fact he is paid less than the shoemaker, blacksmith, bricklayer and many other trades. His salary is continuously diminishing, due to the great number of unemployed drug clerks, till now, the average is placed at ten to twelve dollars.

And what are his prospects? If in a course of a few years, if he has worked uninterruptedly and is of good habits and he saved a few hundred dollars, he may embark with his savings in an enterprise for himself, in buying or starting a drug store, to have his hopes blasted against the stern rock of competition, in most instances, and then to trundle from place to place, until age will unfit him for employment. Or, if he should be more fortunate and not be driven fom the field of competition, he will have to continuously struggle to eke out an existence—to make the two ends meet. He becomes nervous, sickly, and if he does not change his occupation, or if not carried off by some illness, he will surely become a fiend of some narcotic, wherein he will seek temporary delight and oblivion.

Such is the unenviable career of a drug clerk.

And is there no remedy? Can drug clerks go into some other trades? All trades are overflowing with unemployed.

Must it be believed, then, that the only hope left is plague or war to thin out the people, that there are too many people on this earth? Let the advocates of this theory be asked to volunteer to have themselves thinned out of existence.

Nature is bounteous and more than sufficient for the subsistence of all mankind.

Wherein, then, does the remedy lie?

The remedy of the condition of the drug clerks is to be found, together with the remedy for the condition of the rest of their class; the wage slave class, comprising all the subdivisions of intellectual and manual labor, in the complete emancipation of that class, the proletariat, and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

And this emancipation must be wrought by the proletariat itself. The begging of concessions will never achieve any benefit to it; they must be wrenched from the upper classes.

To this end an organization of drug clerks should be formed wherein class-conscious, economic action should be coupled with class-conscious political action to obtain temporary relief while moving toward the total abolition of the present system and the conditions it imposes upon the different trades.

The drug clerks should take a place in the front ranks of the class-conscious movement of workingmen, like their colleagues in France, who marched in the 1st of May parade, with a banner bearing the inscription,

"Le Proletariat Intellectuel."

* * *

A meeting of drug clerks will be held at Stuyvesant Hall, 349-351 E. 17th street, next Thursday, the 26th instant, at 9.30 p. m.

Drug clerks, interested in forming an organization of their trade, should attend the meeting, or, if they cannot, communicate with Wm. L. Brower, Secy., D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., 23 Duane street, N. Y. City.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone, and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten persons may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and corresponding secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary Agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial Report.
5.—Report of Organizer.
6.—Report of Committees.
7.—Unfinished Business.
8.—New Business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of ten cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of membres, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn,

184 William street, New York City.

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. 50 cents per year.
The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. 50 cents per year.
The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.
The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.
Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. $2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. $1.50 per year.

ITALIAN.

Il Proletario, 181 Thompson street, New York City. $1 per year.

SWEDISH.

Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

POLISH.

Sila, 550 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. $1 per year.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. 75 cents per year.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 538 East Fifth street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West Third street, Davenport, Ia.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitutions in English, German and Polish (with platform)....	50c. per 100
Constitution in Jewish (without platform)	40c. per 100
Due Cards	40c. per 100
Application Cards	40c. per 100
Emblem Buttons (stud or pin) per dozen	25c.
Metal emblem pins (gilt) per doz.	30c.

When ordering supplies, enclose the cash: it takes time to keep credit accounts, send out bills (perhaps a number of times before collection is made), and all this time, postage and effort may be employed to a better purpose.

The emblem buttons and the pins are not sent out on credit under any circumstances. They are sold by the N. Y. State Committee, which committee keeps no credit accounts of any kind.

Address all orders to: HENRY KUHN,
184 William street, New York, N. Y.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at $1.25 per 1,000 or $1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York.

WAR AND MARKETS.

Purposes For Which The Proletariat is Used as Catspaws.

In the last (1897) May Day number of "Justice" I pointed out how the soldier of the capitalist era had become, like the workman of the capitalist era, the mere adjunct of a machine—of the latest improved pattern war engine. I further drew attention to the analogous change which had taken place between the soldier of an earlier period and the soldier of our time to that between the handicraftsman of the Middle Ages and the machine-tending factory-proletarian of to-day. Once the "free and independent" handicraftsman of the art of war, who, if one master did not please him, felt himself free to serve another, the soldier has become the abject mechanical slave of the modern army machine, precisely in the same way as the workman from the independent guildsman has become the slave of the mechanical processes of the factory. My object in these few lines is to call special attention to the manner in which the function of the new military machine—in other words, of the modern army and navy—has been reduced to that of forcing outlets for the products of the modern factory—that the complex machine of modern industry—and keeping it supplied with fodder—i. e., raw material. Modern wars, in short, have within a couple of generations become exclusively wars of commerce. There is an increasing disinclination manifesting itself between capitalist States (and all European nations and their offshoots are now capitalist States) to fight each other. The struggle between them has, from a military, become an industrial one. But so much the more has the military power of these States been ruthlessly used to force savage and barbaric peoples, helpless as they are, into the circle of the world market of modern commerce. The pretence of humanity, patriotism, religion, etc., is already too played out to deceive any one any more. All who are not wilfully blind recognize that the one object of all modern wars is the material gain of the capitalist class.

A striking illustration of this is furnished by the present Spanish-American struggle. The pretence of humanitarian sentiment has, of course, once more been trotted out. The interests of civilization and humanity required that America should intervene and rescue Cuba from the Spanish yoke. The real interests that move the humanitarian patriotism of the American nation is a sugar ring with tobacco in the background. It requires little discernment to see that this is the root of the chivalrous patriotism which glories in fighting a nation possessing not one-twentieth part of the wealth or one fourth the numbers of the aggressor. Here we have, it is true, two States belonging to the circle of modern capitalist civilization fighting each other, which is certainly a change from the accustomed slaughter of "niggers" by European powers. But the distance between the respective stages of capitalistic development of America and Spain makes the contest unequal enough in any case. What the ultimate consequences of the struggle for the near future of Europe may be does not concern us here, and if it did we could merely offer more or less probable surmises on the subject. But as an illustration of our contention as to the purely commercial nature of modern war, the following considerations may serve:

The wealth of Cuba consists partly in tobacco, but, by far the largest part, in the products of the sugar cane industry. Before the insurrection Cuba produced a million tons of sugar annually—i. e., more than any other sugar-producing country. In 1881 the United States consumed nearly a million tons, in 1890 over a million and a half, while in 1894 the importation had reached over two millions! While the American people are the largest consumers of sugar in the world, the States themselves produce comparatively little. So that when last year the importation fell to under a quarter of a million, in consequence of the insurrection, it was natural that those interested in the sugar industry should cast greedy glances on the land of the raw product. There is, indeed, not the slightest doubt that American capitalists could with little difficulty double or even treble the maximum output under the old régime before the insurrection. Now, if the Americans took over Cuba, it has been calculated it would be worth to the country a revenue of nearly three million sterling, the bulk of which sum is now paid to various foreign countries for the raw product. Thus the American markets would be freed and an American sugar ring would, without doubt, rapidly acquire an effective monopoly of the sugar supply, not only of the home market, but of the European markets as well, just as Rockefeller has now of the European oil market. Such is the true inwardness of the Spanish-American struggle—and, as before said, a little consideration will show that similar aims are at the root of all other modern wars.

But yet, notwithstanding these plain facts, notwithstanding the obvious interests of the exploiting capitalist which modern international "questions" alone subserve, the working classes still allow themselves (at least the non-Socialist section of them do) to be gulled by the goose cry of patriotism, not to speak of other goose cries which are sometimes not without their effect. That it is easy for any designing capitalist clique to make catspaws of the modern proletariat under almost any pretence is evidenced by every Parliamentary election that takes place. It is, therefore, not specially to be wondered at that they should be moved, on occasion, by appeals to their patriotic sentiment. That it should be so easy, that proletarian human nature should be so ineffably gullible might be incredible were we to confine ourselves to political life alone, and forget the bottomless gullibility of human nature generally in other spheres of interest. Yet of this fact the perennial effectiveness of the confidence trick should suffice to keep us in ever-present remembrance.

E. BELFORT BAX.

London "Justice."

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

A Standing Challenge.

To THE PEOPLE.—Altho' I am sure THE PEOPLE is overrun with "suggestions" how to "run it successfully," and that most of these "hints" show the greenness of the hinters, despite their good intentions, I am going to venture to make one that I hope will receive at least careful consideration.

Myself and comrades cannot too fully express our appreciation of THE PEOPLE; in our daily and individual agitation it plays a prominent role; nevertheless I am anxious to see this our noble champion reach, if possible, even higher effectiveness than it does now. For this reason I wish to make my suggestion.

To make myself clear, let me first explain that every little while we run up against some "bull head," generally a "pure and simpler," who, when shown statements and articles exposing the crooks and their ways, flare up and denounce them as a "network of lies," gotten up by that "damned PEOPLE." It is useless to argue with stubborn blockheads who have allowed themselves to be so infernally poisoned by the fakirs. The methods of these fakirs nowadays, especially among the western wing of the A. F. of L., is to pour down bucketfuls of letters into the rank and file denouncing the Socialists as "scabs," "rats," "union wreckers." Naturally such libels cannot, in the long run, stand. But, in the meantime, something might be done to help nail these people.

Now, then, my idea is to have in THE PEOPLE a standing notice, conspicuously located, to the effect that THE PEOPLE has substantial facts for its statements; nothing being published but from reliable sources; that its Editor is elected by the National Executive of the party, and the whole membership of the party having a voice in his continuance in office; that he does not express his private views but the collective views of the S. L. P.; and that, to quote from the answer given to R. J. Hinton, "we are ready for you," if any one chooses to bring an action for libel against it for anything it states.

I think such a standing notice would have a wholesome effect upon the bluffer fakirs and "call them down."

LOUIS DUVROSCHAK.

Duluth, Minn., May 15.

[It is hardly likely that people who are so senseless as to repeat like parrots the slanders of the fakirs, are likely to be affected by any such standing notice, all the more seeing that the proposed notice would not contain anything not generally known now. It is well known first, that there has been more than once a challenge in these columns for Gompers and the other fakirs to put in print in their organs the slander they retail in private, and that, if they do, we have guaranteed to lodge them in jail—unless they run away as the now fugitive from justice, Gompers' friend Kurzenknabe has done; secondly, that we are "ready for any one" who would dare contradict our statements.

Any person of average intelligence must be able to perceive that nothing appears in these columns that is not well supported—as evidenced by the backwardness of each and all the crew whom we have exposed to venture upon a criminal prosecution of this paper.

The desire to call down the blockhead parrots is explainable. But that crew is callable down only by long experience. Artemus Ward drew the photograph of such people in his account of the Copperhead Democrat, who, after the Civil War had broken out and the two armies were colliding in sanguinary encounters, still persisted in saying there was no Civil War, and that all the reports about it were "damned Republican lies." The time came when men like this one found out; but it took time; time alone will now again do the desired work; and it will do it.—Ed. THE PEOPLE.]

The Seidenberg Spectre Stalking Onward With Intensified Stalk—Poor Workers Cheated With False Promises.

To THE PEOPLE.—As two of the "Spanish Workers," who took part in the late Seidenberg cigarmakers' strike, we desire to give the public some information on what happened there.

Saturday, March 12, in the morning, as we, the men, were going to the shop to work, we met a Committee of the International Union, which told us "the shop is on strike." We insisted on going in to work; we said to the Committee when they call a meeting we would attend. Then this Committee, which had just told us there was a strike against Seidenberg, must have notified Seidenberg's manager, Mr. Pisco, to tell us there was to be a meeting to be held at 10 o'clock, because Mr. Pisco came and gave us this notice himself.

We attended the meeting. The presiding officer of the meeting was Mr. Bennett. After a long talking he said if anybody had any grievances to state them, and he would see that they would be redressed. We, the "Spanish Workers," then said we wanted $2 advance on each thousand cigars; he said to the secretary to put that down black upon white. He then asked, if there was any more grievances, to state them, which was done by the people on "Spanish Team Workers," the same price as we asked for, as they were getting less than we were. Also the people on the suction tables made their demands. Mr. Bennett said that if all demands were not satisfied there would be no man or woman to enter the shop until these demands were satisfied. The meeting was then adjourned until the following Monday.

During a week and a half that we were on strike there was not a word said about the Committee going to see the firm to state our grievances. On Monday, March 21, at the meeting it was said the Committee was at the office of Seidenberg. The meeting was then adjourned to the next day, we then would get the full report.

On the 22d it was reported at the meeting that the strike was at an end. They were going to do away with the Pioneer men on the Kelly floor. We, the "Spanish Workers," then asked if they made our demands. They said yes, but Mr. Pisco would sooner close the Spanish floor than give one cent more. We then asked for a caucus meeting; which was granted for a few minutes. Every man was willing to stay out until some advance was made. A question arose, if our floor stayed out, would the International Union protect us? We then called for Dan Harris, and the question was asked him. He said: "I am not yet through with that shop"; we then asked him if any man took our seats, would they be called scabs. He said "No," if we did not go back he would be compelled to fill our places with men. There was then a majority vote to go back to work. We then went down to the regular meeting, and we found out that the sympathy of the people was with us. We then got up and said if we had known that we would not have voted to go back. Dan Harris said he was surprised that after voting up stairs to go back we should not now want to. After a little talk the strike was declared off. We were told to go back to work.

The next morning when we entered the shop the foreman asked the men if they knew how the strike was settled. We said: "Yes, we come back at the same prices." He then said his orders were to notify each man if they wanted to work they would have to join the union. There were half who would not return to work on these conditions.

It is clear that all we got from this strike was that we had to take three dollars out of our pockets to join the union.

We also wish to state, that after the Committee had settled we were told WE HAD NO RIGHT TO ASK FOR ANY ADVANCE UNTIL APRIL; we then said: "Why did you ask us for our grievances?" They said it was a mistake on Mr. Bennett's part. When we asked Bennett about this, he shrugged his shoulders. We also wish to say that no advance was gained by anybody.

JOE COHEN, 211 E. 101st st.
JACK BRITTAN, 168 E. 110th st.

New York, May 14, '98.

The Wild Bulls and the Red Flag.

To THE PEOPLE.—Los Angeles is very patriotic, having sent "quite a few" of her "soldier-laddies" to the front to "lick" Spain, that mother of iniquity and cruelty, etc., etc., etc. In fact, so intensely patriotic is she that she will hardly allow another flag to be swung in heaven's cooling breezes. "The Stars and Stripes is the only flag that has time to play with the breezes just now," say some of the blue coats of this beautiful, glorious municipality of ours.

And as for the red flag! Why, the police are regular wild bulls after a red rag when they see the colors of the International flying.

On the 1st of May the Los Angeles Socialist Section celebrated the International Labor Day with speaking on the corner of Fifth and Olive streets. Comrade R. T. McIvor, of San Francisco, was the principal speaker of the day, while Comrade Job Harriman was chairman.

Before the meeting commenced one of these mad bulls of destructive propensities, misnamed guardians of the peace, tried to prevent a meeting being held, but when law was quoted on him and the passage shown in black and white in the code he retired to that den of political iniquity, the City Hall, for further instructions.

Shortly afterward he returned with another cop, presumably a reinforcement. McIvor was making his speech from a wagon, while on the ground, on one side of the wagon, stood the national flag and on the other side was the red flag, Comrade Arnaelstein holding the latter.

"Put down that flag," he yelled savagely.

The Socialist refused.

"Then I'll take you to jail," and the two cops unceremoniously hustled him out of the crowd taking the red flag with him. The red flag was captured, but the meeting went on, with several thousand men listening.

Soon the red flag and the arrested man returned, the police having had no intention of jailing the man or keeping the flag, but acted as they did only as a cold bluff, hoping thereby to provoke the Socialists to do something that might really cause their arrest and thus break up the meeting.

Owing to a promise made by one of the comrades who accompanied Arnaelstein to the station, the flag was laid on the seat of the wagon. Comrade Michaelsen was the next speaker after which the meeting adjourned, though the crowd stayed fully an hour after, condemning the action of the police in trying to be the instigators of a riot, though there were not wanting many friends of capitalism, of course, who sided in with the police and said: "Damn the Red Flag anyhow!"

However, some good came out of it. That night, as the Socialists held their propaganda meeting in Forrester's Hall, First and Spring streets, and reviewed the events of the afternoon, they managed to sell quite a number of Benham's little book called "The Red Flag," a pamphlet published at San Francisco by the author and sold by him for five cents a copy.

CALIFORNIA AJAX.

Los Angeles, Cal., May 10.

Growing Impressions in Boston on the Shoeworkers' Debate.

To THE PEOPLE.—Others, beside myself, wait with interest for the rest of the debate to see the disposition that straight out Unionism made of the other article.

How many more of those queer creatures are we to meet in the evolution of the S. L. P., who talk Socialism, but associate with and seek support of fakirs.

Such a queer conglomerate! What do they mean by a "combined political and economic movement?" This inconsistent twist should be cleared up.

Within the last five years we have winnowed away a simoom of chaff. But, oh! it has done us so much good: The S. L. P. has slowly settled to bed-rock, and all the storms of all the world cannot disturb it now. Its spokesmen, cool, calm, collected. They keep their heads out of the stars and their feet on the earth, and their vision sweeps the universal horizon to note every obstruction that rises in the path of the advancing proletariat. The coming fakir will need the subtility of the devil to get a place in the ranks.

J. B.

Boston, Mass., May 11.

Artemus Ward's Anticipations.

To THE PEOPLE.—In 1866, when Artemus Ward was invited to address the Fenians in this country, he had no mercy on the fakirs of that movement. In a red-hot speech he called the attention of the adherents of Irish freedom not to send any more funds to the head centers in New York, for, he goes on to tell, how he went to New York and saw Mr. Terence McFadden in Mr. Delmonico's Hotel, eating a canvass back duck at five dollars per poult, and a bottle of green seal stood before him; and how the deputy center, McFadden, was so exercised about the wrongs "we Irishmen suffer by the iron heel of despotic liriton." And he says: "They say, feller citizens, soon you will see a blow struck for Irish liberty! We haint seen nothing but a blow so far. It's bin all blow, and the blowers in New York wont get out of Bellusses as long as our Irish frens in the rooral districts send 'em money. Let the green float above the red, if that'll make it feel any better, but don't you be the Green. My Irish frens, ponder these things a little Zaminiem. Closely, and above all find out where the pusses go to."

Sheep, lambs and calves of the "Social Democracy," and also pure and simple humbuggeries, where do your dues go to? To those Eolian wind bags and their windbag attachments—the big and the minor labor fakirs. You live in the imagination that soon you will live among palm leaves and humming birds. O, dear lambs, don't you see how well Artemus Ward sized up your situation before hand? Take his warning to heart.

Comrades of International Socialism: Shoulder your gun—THE PEOPLE—march on to the greatest achievement of human history—the Co-operative Commonwealth.

FRANK CAMPBELL.

Jersey City, May 15.

Dishandment of the New York Marble Workers' Union—Who are the Union Wreckers?

To THE PEOPLE.—Under this heading there appeared an article in the new Bohemian Socialist organ, "Pravda," which throws a searchlight upon the doings of pure and simpledom.

The Marble Workers' Union, affiliated with the S. T. & L. A., was organized about three years ago. The members of this union, before organizing themselves into that body, time and again made application for membership in the Whitestone Association, but were not admitted. Different excuses were made for not admitting them. At first $50 initiation fee was demanded; some of the marble workers were willing to pay that amount; as soon as this was found out by the officers of the old organization, the initiation fee was raised to $100; and even that amount would have been paid by some. Accordingly, some other way had to be adopted to keep these men out. That way was found. These new marble workers were Bohemians; "No Bohemian can become a member of our organization," said the officers of the Whitestone Association, and the men were not admitted. Thereupon the Bohemian Marble Workers organized themselves. The organization was growing rapidly, there being hardly a Bohemian marble worker who was not a member of the new body. They struck for higher wages; six long months they stood out; their employers weakened and were about to give in, but then the Board of Walking Delegates stepped in to aid the bosses, telling them that it would not recognize the new organization; no matter how high the wages of the men in the new organization may be, the marble worked by them would be boycotted by the Board. The result of this was that the men lost the strike and had to go to work under the old bill of prices.

What prompted the Board of Walking Delegates to take this stand? The answer is: "It was with them a question of dollars and cents." The material used at every building is supposed to bear the union label, and yet it is a fact that such is not the case, at least as far as marble is concerned. This is the way it's done: The walking delegates say to the boss marble workers: "You give us a few hundred cartwheels and it's all right—see?" and he does give it and takes it off the wages of his employees who are prevented from organizing, for if their union was recognized, it would not be necessary for the boss to bribe them, and that is the point. The Bohemian Marble Workers are now disbanded, but there is one question that every class-conscious worker should ask himself: "Is it not our duty to rally around the banner of the S. T. & L. A. and wipe the fakirs out of existence?"

K.

New York, May 17.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

"Christian Socialist," Muncie, Ind.—That's all very sweet; but, in the language of Thoreau, you should not be simply good, but good for something.

"L. P. M., 7th," New York.—Altho' the tone of your letter breathes quarrelsomeness rather than a desire for information, and, hence, hardly merits recognition, it will be answered because such question as you raise may possibly arise with others who would really want information.

1. The "calling of names" is a matter that appertains to manners. Manners have nothing to do with economic and political principles. You should make a note of that.

2. Your attitude is severe on the Anarchist. From it, it appears that you consider the word "Anarchist" an insult. You are in error. It is a term that some people are very proud of. To say that a man is an Anarchist is not to insult or "call him down." The term may be inapplicable to him, the same as it would be inapplicable to call a Republican a Prohibitionist or vice versa; but, no man who respects himself enough to be careful of the words he uses would call that "calling down," or "calling names."

3. The article in THE PEOPLE you refer to can in no manner be construed to refer to the disfranchised voters of South Carolina or other Southern States. It evidently refers to people in the North who have no vote. To impute their having no vote to poverty or to the illiteracy that poverty breeds is far fetched. Moreover, even the non-voters referred to were actually disfranchised people, it would not materially alter the case. A body that calls itself a "political party," and that blows about how it is going to sweep the S. L. P. out of existence and snow it under at the polls, implies that its constituency is, at least to a large extent, a citizen constituency, armed with the suffrage. When, however, the fact is just the reverse, the pointing it out is the pointing out of a fact, and of a fact germane to the issue, at that. You may call that "boasting of one's own vote," "call names," and all that, and you may actually think so, but what you think don't change facts. It is the nailing of false pretences, and if it is "calling down," it is the calling down of a bluffer.

4. Finally, there is no Anti-Semitism in pointing out that the bulk of the Debs Democracy consists of "Anarchist Jews." The Debs Democracy pretends that it is the Simon Pure American Socialist Movement. All others are FOREIGN importation, it is NATIVE. Now, the fact being just the reverse, as pointed out, how was it to be expressed? Simply by saying that the Debs Democracy consists of Anarchists, would not have covered the point, there being native Anarchists. To prove the fact it was necessary to bring out the fact of the foreign nativity of these people. Hence the expression.

We can well understand that facts that uncover false pretences are unpalatable to be uncovered. Nor can we wonder at their trying to play scuttle fish thereat, and avoid the force of the exposure by the false cry of "Anti-Semitism," etc. But in all such cases the unmannerliness lies on the other side of the house. And it is more than unmannerliness, it is swindle. Did you ever know an uncovered swindler who acted otherwise?

"Watchfull," Holyoke, Mass.—The order of the speakers in the debate on the shoe trade, that is now going through these columns on the 4th page was:

1. Brower, of the S. T. & L. A. shoe workers, with 20 minutes;
2. Tobin, of the A. F. of L. shoe workers, with 20 minutes;
3. De Leon, of the S. T. & L. A. shoe workers, with 30 minutes;
4. Sievermann, of the A. F. of L. shoe workers, with 30 minutes.

And after that, in inversed order:

1. Tobin, with 10 minutes.
2. Brower, with 10 minutes.
3. Sievermann, with 10 minutes.
4. De Leon, with 10 minutes, closing the debate.

During the last three issues, this one included, the first 3 turns are published; the next issue, May 29th, will contain Sieverman's 30 minutes; and the following issue, June 5, will contain all the four ten minutes' turns in one.

T., Syracuse, N. Y.—All such schemes are vain. People are not to be won over to a social revolution on the plan that flies are caught, or on the plan that traders attract customers.

P. J., New York.—No wonder the Police did not forbid the "Social Democracy" May Day parade. Why should it? It was a pro-Cuba demonstration. Why should it feel alarmed at anything that promotes humbug?

C., Lynn, Mass.—The names were given in the May 1 issue of THE PEOPLE.

On the side of the S. T. & L. A. shoeworkers, the invited guests at the shoeworkers' debate were: Sanial, National Secretary Kuhn, Laffey, of the Plasterers; Hickey, of the Hydraulic Workers; Wherry, of the International Typographical Union; Murphy, of D. A. 49, Katz, of the International Cigarmakers' Union; Marie Bruckman, Rosenblatt, of the Lithographers, and Eckstein, of the Clothing Cutters—all ten members of the S. L. P. and new trade unionists.

On the side of the Tobin and Sievermann shoeworkers, the invited guests were: James F. Carey, of Haverhill, the friend of the swindler Gordon; he committed the breach of trust of being elected by the S. L. P. to office and then refusing to resign as he pledged himself, he withdrew from the party; Casson, who was expelled by Section Lynn; Bechtold, the understrapper of the fugitive from justice Kurzenknabe, who, together with Kurzenknabe, was thrown out of Section St. Louis; Cahan, who was thrown out by Section New York; Modest and Winchewsky, who withdrew from Section New York to avoid expulsion,—all six Debs Democracy men; then Prince, Brown and Schoenfeldt, the first two cigarmaker labor fakirs, the third a tailoring fakir now holding a political job on the Harlem bridge; the tenth was Hard.

H. B. A., London, Ont.—Comrade Sanial's History of the International Movement will be part of an almanac with statistical tables for the use of speakers, and will be issued by N. E. C. It is not yet out, but will be soon. It will be found invaluable both in matters of figures and history.

C. L. W., New York.—No, it is not necessary that a Socialist should make a martyr of himself. There certainly may be circumstances under which a man might bring ruin upon himself and his family if he openly announces himself a Socialist. But, while this is abstractly so, it is actually true that in most cases those who fear to be victimized fear a ghost. In connection with this, it should be clearly stated that to carry the fear of being victimized so far as to actually and conspicuously aid the foe would rather indicate an abnormal degree of duplicity—either towards the foe or towards Socialists. Such people are N. G. For the rest, no man who holds to a truth should render that truth a nuisance by his conduct.

H. W., Detroit, Mich.—The yellow paper of this city referred to in our last issue, as raising its price on its newsboys on the same day that it announced its circulation had reached 1,287,019 per day, is the silver man Hearst's "Journal."

The names of the two railroad companies that competed for the transportation of soldiers from Detroit to Norfolk, one offering to do it for $7, the other for $12, and the latter getting it are not quite certain; they probably are the Ann Arbor and the Pennsylvania. The fact, referred to in last week's PEOPLE was taken from the following passage (Congressional Record, p. 4942) in which, in the House of Representatives, Albert M. Todd, from Kalamazoo, 3rd Michigan Congress District, quoted from the Washington, D. C., "Post" of May 1: "Some time ago Secretary Alger arranged with President Thompson, of the Pennsylvania road, to be his aid in the matter of arranging transportation for the troops . . . It seems that 157 men were to be transported from Detroit to the Norfolk Navy Yard, and bids were invited for the transportation. The lowest bid was $7.29 per man; but when this stage of the proceedings had been reaced it was discovered that the contract for the movement of the men had already been given to a railroad company by an official of the Navy Department at a fraction of $12."

W. J. McH., Long Beach, Miss.—Several of your questions you will find in the course of time answered in the "Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan" column, where they could be treated with most efficacy. We'll take up here only a few that can be disposed off easily.

1. Most assuredly, the referendum, initiative and imperative mandate will be in operation in the Socialist Commonwealth. Whether, however, they could be in operation just as soon as the S. L. P. is in power but before the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth is at least under way, would depend upon circumstances. Imagine the capitalists rioting in several parts of the country and prompt action being needed, do you imagine that the Socialist Government would put the revolution in jeopardy, or that the Socialist masses would tolerate such danger, by the delay caused by a referendum. The referendum, etc., is demanded by a revolutionary body from a hostile social system in existence for the purpose of helping to break down and keep that system curbed. Otherwise, the referendum, etc., is applicable only in a SETTLED, Socialist commonwealth.

2. The word "Communism" has been used in so many different ways that it is hard to know what a man means by it without he explains himself. A pretty good test of "Communism" is the motto generally accredited to it: "To each according to his needs." The Socialist motto being: "To each according to his deeds," there would be quite a difference between the two in distribution, not in the method of production or system of ownership. But even this difference may be less marked in fact than in seeming. This feature also of the question will be treated in the "U. S. & B. J." column.

THE DEBATE.

(Continued.)

NEW YORK CITY, April 24, 1898.

Debate of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) versus the General Council of Shoe Workers (S. T. & L. A), at Teutonia Hall, 16th street and 3rd avenue, New York City, April 24, 1894.

Participants:
John F. Tobin, and
Frank A. Sieverman,
representing the Boot and Shoe Workers Union:
William L. Brower, and
Daniel De Leon,
representing the General Council of Shoe Workers.

The meeting was called to order by Miss Katie Pryor, Secretary of the General Council of Shoeworkers.

DE LEON: Shoeworkers! Accident wills it that this debate has been put upon its right footing. The topic chosen by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union was, "The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union Against the General Council of Shoe Workers." That title was misleading. It is the General Council of Shoe Workers against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. They have no cause to complain against us. We have cause to complain against them. And all of you who gather your information from proper sources will agree with me that Mr. Tobin, the president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, has half made out my case.

The General Council of Shoe Workers of New York City was organized as a result of an extensive experience. Part of it has been given to you by Comrade Brower. I want to mention some other items that are of importance for my line of argument. We were in D. A. 49 of the Knights of Labor. We tried to pour new wine in that organization, and we found that that old bottle would not hold it. After the General Assembly in Washington, D. A. 49, controlled overwhelmingly by trades unionists, or Socialist elements, overthrew the general officers, overthrew the coterie of pure and simplers, politicians and crooks within D. A. 49 in this city, and joined with the other progressive general organizations of labor in New York City in organizing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Of the principles upon which we organized I shall mention just two that guide us in all our action.

We claim, in the first place, that mere numbers mean nothing (the last speaker, you will remember, laid great stress on the progress they were making in numbers). We hold that mere numbers mean nothing, on the contrary, that the larger the number of men wrongly pulled together, the greater the danger, the more overwhelming the disaster. We proceed upon this principle: Put one hundred men aiming at a target, and see which are the bullets that fall together. You will find them to be those shots that hit the bull's-eye: in other words, you will find them to be the shots that were aimed correctly; all the other shots that have not been aimed correctly will not only fall away from those that do hit the bull's-eye, but will fall away from one another. It is a miracle if two of them fall together. Only what is right can come and stay together; error can only accidentally come together, but is sure to fall apart in the end; as a rule, error can not come and hold together, any more than false shots; like false shots, they have all the immensity of space to fall apart in. Now, then, you look over the field; you will see large aggregations of men going down and coming up, and going down and "coming up smilingly again," as Mr. Tobin says of his crowd; they are like the sands of the desert, where the wind blows up one hill, another wind blows down this hill and sets up another, and so on. We say there is no such thing as organizing men and keeping them together on false pretences, and you will find out that men who do that, they are the "broken down labor skates." We proceed from the principle that when we have a few men who understand correctly what they want, it is far better than to have a large number of men brought up on the conflicting lines of capitalists. Only such a body can hold together, and grow without having to break down, in order to "come up smiling" again.

We go a step further. We say: the only way to afford such an organization protection from the outside, and a chance to develop is to provide that its leaders, its officers, be incapacitated from selling out the organization. We do not demand of every member that he pledge himself to vote the ticket of the Socialist Labor party, but we do demand of every organization in the Alliance that it allow no leader of its body to prominently take part in any capitalist party; that if he wants to take part in politics conspicuously he must take part in that political organization or with that political party only that alone stands upon the principles of labor—the Socialist Labor party. We concluded from the long line of experience that we had of organizations that started out right, of organizations composed of honest rank-and-file men, and which were subsequently switched off, and whose doors were bolted and barred against any information reaching the men by just this omission, namely, the omission to bar their leaders from taking political part with capitalist political partjes that such a provision is essential to the safety of a union. For just as soon as a leader commences to take prominent part in other than straight out class-conscious S. L. P., politics, he commences to traffic on the organization, and must seek to prevent the organization from gaining in intelligence; because, in proportion as the organization becomes intelligent, the organization would take a stand that would convey the information to the political heelers of the Democratic or Republican, Gold-bug or Silver-bug parties, that that organization is not to be trafficked upon by its leaders—and there you would have Mr. Leader stranded.

Upon these two cardinal points we built; first, teach the wage workers that there is no hope in the economic struggle alone unless it is backed by a movement, politically of their own exclusive class interests; second, make it impossible for a labor skate to get on top and sell out. And you of the shoeworkers' trade know what a long list of labor skates there have been who have dealt and trafficked upon your organization and all got plums. Upon that principle we organized. We knew full well that we would grow very slowly; we knew full well that we might not grow for a time; but we knew this, that all other unions might be "going down and coming up, and going down and coming up smilingly again," but could never stand, while we were bound on the whole to progress; and we looked the future calmly in the face, because we knew we were bound to succeed.

Now, while we were doing that work, a work which the National Socialist Labor party's convention adopted and approved of—and, by the way, it is passing effrontery on the part of any one to say, as Mr. Tobin has done, that this approval was obtained under false pretences; one of the speakers here this afternoon, Mr. Sieverman of Mr. Tobin's side, occupied the floor of that convention and threw all the "light" on it that he could, in opposition, and by that light his arguments and opposition were overwhelmingly rejected. It is passing effrontery for any man to come here and say the party's support was gotten under false pretences, when one State Convention after another applauded the Alliance in advance of the Convention; when, after the Convention, a general vote sustained the endorsement by the Convention; and when in this city, several general votes were subsequently held on the subject, and each one in support was larger than the previous. But to return to the subject.

While we were organizing here the shoe trade on our sound lines, down comes Mr. Tobin's organization, and tries to set up its organization. Mr. Tobin says the gauntlet was thrown by us at Buffalo. Now, what did happen at Buffalo? In Buffalo there was a local of Mr. Tobin's organization. That local had for its leader a small middle class capitalist; that leader had a shoe shop of his own, and he ordered boycotts and strikes against his competitors, according as his private business required. Perhaps he was animated by the progressive (?) and progressingly progressive (?) spirit of Mr. Tobin's organization. At any rate, the rank and file of the Buffalo union saw at last that they were being buncoed by this representative of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union. Perhaps the enlightenment (?) they were receiving from Mr. Tobin helped them to see the improper use that Mr. Tobin's representative was making of them. Be that as it may, if we contributed to their indignation, it was in an indirect way through our general agitation. We did not send any man there to organize them. Without our knowing of it, they organized of themselves; they did so spontaneously, and applied for a charter of the S. T. & L. A.; and to this day I have to learn that we organized a single scab among them. We were asked about Buffalo; that's our answer. Deny it, Mr. Tobin, if you can.

Well, Mr. Tobin's organization came down to New York. I must now go back a few years to explain to you the source of Mr. Tobin's organization. At the Philadelphia Convention, 1893, Mr. Powderly was overthrown. Upon this there took place a double secession from the Knights—a secession of miners, and a secession of shoeworkers. Both seceders seceded from the Knights, not upon any high principle; not because they considered that Sovereign would turn out just as bad as Powderly; but on personal lines, and because they preferred boodle, on the lines of Powderly, to boodle they foresaw they could not get on the lines of Sovereign—as it turned out. The miner seceders organized the Independent K. of L., that shortly after died out; the shoemaker seceders threw the breath of life into a new shoemakers' union—The "Boot & Shoe Workers' Union"—, which, for the same reason as its sister, the "Independent K. of L.," had no reason of being, and has been "going down and coming up smiling," that is to say, doing nothing for the labor movement and dying apace. We knew beforehand that that element would not, if it could, and could not if it would, become a class-conscious body. That element put a member of the S. L. P. and noted New Trade Unionist, Mr. Tobin, at its head. Similar tricks have been done before, and were done more recently by another of these pure and simple organizations. They put a Socialist at the head, and imagined we were going to say: "There is a Socialist there, consequently the organization must be all right." They imagined we were going to trust to the label on the bottle, notwithstanding the poison in the bottle. Those salad days of the class-conscious movement are no more; the movement does no longer allow itself to be humbugged. We told Tobin at the time: "You are not going to make anything out of this organization." I, for one, had rather deal with an organization or man that is against progresive principles openly, than with a man or organization that puts up progressive pretences and acts on reactionary lines. What does it mean to put up progressive pretences in a platform, and act in perversest "pure and simple" style, as I shall presently show you was done by this Boot & Shoe Workers' Union? It means nothing more or less than to do what the Democrats and Republicans do: put up grandiloquent promises to Labor in their platforms, with no intention whatever of carrying them out, and with intent to deceive.

Obedient to the anti-labor and swindle law of its existence, the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union promptly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which is run by a man, who, here in New York City, endorsed publicly as a friend of Labor, Senator Cantor, who had applauded openly Governor Flower for sending the soldiers to murder the Buffalo striking switchmen. I suppose it is an evidence of the progressingly progressive (?) spirit of Boot & Shoe Workers' Union and of its trustworthiness that its delegates to the American Federation of Labor, never so much as offered a vote of censure against that man, for that and his many other malfeasances in office. They never did! I suppose that to have a President with a card of the party in his pocket is quite enough to guarantee the progressiveness of a body. When, at one of these late conventions of the A. F. of L., even the out-and-out pure and simple delegates gagged at the corruptionist delegate Pomeroy and could not stand him, who were the men who voted for Pomeroy? Who, but Anarchist Weissmann and Mr. Tobin and his fellow delegate of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union! They voted to keep that man there!

Shoemakers, tell me with whom you are, and I will tell you who you are. It is a general principle that holds good in regard to organizations as it does in regard to men. The organization that can affiliate on friendly terms with such people, can it honestly come to us and say: "Look at our programme; see how progressive we are!"; and if they do, is it not infinitely worse than if their programme were the worst in the world?

But there is worse to come. When Mr. Tobin, in the name of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, came to organize in New York, who was his spokesman? Why, Dan Harris, than whom there is no worse reprobate, reeking with the smut of pure and simple corruption, walking on shoe leather. That man, and such as he, were pushed forward by Mr. Tobin at the meetings which he called to organize Boot & Shoe Workers' locals in this city; these men deal out to the audience the veriest poison of "pure and simpledom," about how high dues are good, and how the unions are doing wonders for the men, etc., etc.,—and all that time Mr. Tobin sat there, listened to that stuff, and when he rose to speak said not a word in denial, although he knows its falseness and its mischievousness to the workers!

With such men as their companions, spokesmen and backers, they come into New York to "organize," and how did they organize? They organize scabs. Mr. Tobin misrepresented me when he quoted the talk we had together. I do not remember whether I said all that should have been said at the time, but I said nothing which could have justified him in misunderstanding me. We are the last—I among them would be the last—to say that if a man has been a scab once, he should be forever and ever anathematized. Not at all. But I draw the distinction between a scab who becomes a scab from want and hunger, and the man who becomes a scab because he is a born scab. A man who goes into a factory because he wants bread is one thing; the man who leaves his work in a shop to take the job of a man who goes out on strike is a scab of a different category. Even for such a man we could have charity; but we certainly would not allow such a man to dictate to us. Those men wanted us to organize them. We said: "Very well, we shall organize you, but we must discipline these offenders." We refused to organize them because that scab insisted on laying down the law; we did not consider that an increase under such scab dictation does an organization any good.

We know that traitors or scabs will crop up in all ranks; and we know that it is the law of the existence of such elements that they rush headlong and cut their own throats, and thus destroy their capacity for mischief. We have had many instances of that in the party itself. We know, therefore, that, after all and in the long run, these people can't do much harm. Nevertheless, knowing the mischief they can do, we are anxious about the element we take in, and least of all, not being driven for dues, are we ready to be ruled by them.

So understanding the situation, we wondered how it was that those people who claim that they want to "unify the workingmen" of New York, come into New York with labor fakirs, à la Dan Harris, as their spokesmen? How it was that they were so tolerant of and loving to the scab? The answer came very quickly; I hope you saw it peep through the statements of Mr. Tobin himself. They were busted where they were organized! Resolutions!—we know all about that; Mr. Gompers can give Mr. Tobin tips on that: how three men can meet and "pass a resolution," and then pronounce it to the world as the "unanimous work of a large union." In Lynn, will Mr. Tobin deny that the Lasters' Union, the largest of all, refuses to pay him dues? Broken up as they were at home, destroyed as they were in Lynn and Haverhill, thanks to their pure and simple tactics of false promises—they had to come for dues to pastures new, where they were not known. I warn you workingmen, look out for that organization or that man, that, unable to do anything where it or he is known best, goes out to new and distant fields and tries to "do something" where it or he is known least.

Now, Mr. Tobin made some general points which I wanted to take up rapidly. He said Brower told you that we were not willing to exchange cards. Brower said nothing of the sort. We accepted their men, but they never accepted ours. Tobin carefully abstained from telling you how many men were organized in Haverhill. He told you falsely that "class-conscious" men were fighting the machine; he did not tell you that it was the class-unconscious men. He has thrown out insinuations against Comrade Carter, who was elected as a Socialist upon a Socialist platform by the Lasters' Union; will he dare say Carter fights the machine, as he insinuates? He speaks about the souvenir and asserts that rot is published there; he is playing upon your ignorance; that souvenir has no rot in it; a person may take out one clause and make it appear that way; that souvenir contains excellent articles, and it is for that reason that so many people object to it.

In conclusion, I want to ask these gentlemen who tell us that they have a red card in their pockets, and one of whom at least has a red button on the lapel of his coat, I want to ask them these questions, and I hope you will listen carefully to their answer. [Turning to Tobin and Sieverman]: Do you hold or do you not to the official declarations of the International Socialist and Labor Congress of London? (TOBIN: "Yes, sir!"; SIEVERMAN: "Unqualifiedly!") Fine! Now, then, if you hold to the decisions of that Congress, which declares that the workingmen must disconnect themselves entirely from any bourgeois or capitalist party, then you must hold to that principle; I then ask you, Do you know of any party in America outside of the Socialist Labor party which is a class-conscious party of the working class? If you do, name it! If you don't, kindly explain why it is that in New York and other places you talk political generalities at the trade meetings, but carefully abstain at all times from mentioning, even by a hint, the name of the Socialist Labor party; or kindly explain how it is that among your backers, your invited guests, on your side of this platform, we find [pointing the finger at Winchewsky, Cahan, Casson, Modest, etc.] one, two, three, four and more members of the Hinton-Debs' Democracy." (Laughter)? Kindly explain the presence on your side, invited by you, of these coryphei of that fake and three-quarters bourgeois party. Let us have light upon this thing; let us find out whether that red button is a bait to catch gudgeons with, or whether it is a bona fide emblem of honorable men. (Great applause).

THE DAILY PEOPLE
$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to May 18th, 1898

$4,575.

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

GRAND PIC NIC
—OF THE—
WEST SIDE ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS, S. L. P.

ON **Pfingst Sunday, May 29.**

Prize Bowling and Prize Shooting for Gentlemen.
Wheel of Fortune.
Dancing.

AT **Hudson County Park,**
cor. 5th St. and Bergenline Av.,
Union Hill, N. J.
Strict Union Arrangements.
Music by L. A. No. 3, S. T. & L. A.

Outing Speech by J. ALLMAN, and with the kind assistance of the allied singing Societies and the Zither Class of the Free German School of the Westside.

For the Benefit of the Election Fund.

TICKETS, 10 Cents a Person. ALL ARE WELCOME.

☞ Hudson County Park, can be reached from 42d Str. and 14th Str., Christopher and Barclay Str., Ferries, direct to the Park. 326

Grand Family Pic Nic
—TO BE HELD BY—
Section Philadelphia, S. L. P.,
for the Benefit of the Campaignfund,
MONDAY, May 30th, 1898, (Decoration Day) at
DAVIS FARM (Mill St. Branchtown),
only 5 minutes walk from the Willow Grove Cars of the 4th and 8th Street, and 13th and 15th Street Lines.
A Committee will be present at Mill St. 334

OFFICIAL.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS — Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of May 17th, with Comrade Brown in the chair. Absent without excuse: Murphy. The financial report for the week ending May 14th showed receipts to have been $33.40; expenditures, $87.81; deficit for the week, 54.41. Comrades Reinard and Hickey report as to their agitation in Ohio and Massachusetts respectively. P. C. Block and John P. Block, both of Northville, Okla. Terr., were admitted as members at large.

Resolutions were received from Section Detroit, Mich., relative to an article that had appeared in THE PEOPLE over the signature of the organizer of the Section, said article reflecting upon the character of the C. L. U. of that city. The secretary was instructed to write to the Section and acquire more closely into the character of the body referred to and to ascertain particularly whether said body had in March last arranged for a Commune celebration in opposition to the Section with the Anarchist Emma Goldmann as the speaker.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Sec'y.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$191.88
H. L. Holman, San Antonio, Tex. (per H. F. Reinard)	1.00
Total	$192.88

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

Connecticut.

BRIDGEPORT.—The Drum and Fife Band is now an accomplished fact; with eighteen members and all the instruments paid for. As several of the members are players we expect to be in good trim for the fall campaign.

We also have a Bicycle Corps which will distribute literature during the summer months and help in getting meetings up, if possible, in country districts.

We have also organized a Karl Marx Club which will meet every first and third Friday of the month.

This shows then that we are active, and our recent vote proved that we were progressing. We are active and progressive because we have stood out clearly in our propaganda for the uncompromising tactics and principles of revolutionary Socialism.

Some six or eight months ago we took charge of the "Workman's Reform Club" and nailed up the banner of international Socialism on its door. Many of the comrades feared that we had undertaken too much; but look at the result. We started with a weak treasury and a membership of about thirty-five; to-day we have over sixty members and a nice little sum in the treasury after spending forty odd dollars on the city election and other heavy expenses since. This don't tell half of the tale. We have now a strong, solidified body of workers, hungry for opportunities, and this I count our greatest achievement.

Our hall is at 219 East Main street, and is open every day from 3 to 5 p. m. and 7 to 11 evenings.

HARTFORD.—A lecture will be delivered on "The Labor Movement in America" by Comrade Boudinoff, of New York, at the Hall of American Branch, Sunday, May 22, at 8 p. m.

Illinois.

CHICAGO.—To all Comrades who ride a bicycle! We have organized a bicycle club for the purpose of organizing the suburb towns of Chicago. If all comrades will assist us, we shall soon have a north, south and west division of the club and are able to do some good work for the S. L. P. Address, Peter Damis, 2722 Cottage Grove avenue.

Kentucky.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., May 15.—Monday, April the 25th, a convention of the Socialist Labor party was held at Zimmerman's Hall, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the 5th Congressional District of Kentucky, comprising the city of Louisville and Jefferson County. Comrade Albert Schmutz was nominated as the party candidate on the regular national platform with slight additions, and a strong campaign committee of 11 members was elected to conduct a vigorous campaign. The campaign committee has made arrangements to begin with outdoor meetings within 2 weeks, and from then until the close of the campaign it is our intention to hold two meetings weekly.

Massachusetts.

ATTENTION BOSTON!

The Scandinavian Socialist Club of Boston will arrange a grand pic-nic in Amory Grove, Roxbury, on Decoration Day. Comrade Chas. Teche, of New York, will be the speaker. Besides sports and games, singing and gymnastic exhibition. Watch advertisement in the next issue.

SOMERVILLE, Mass.—The comrades of the Eighth Massachusetts Congressional District are desirous of thoroughly organizing the district and place a candidate for Congress in the field this fall. Will any person willing to help form a section in Medford, please communicate with the undersigned.

J. W. H. WILLIAMS.

New York.

To the Comrades and sympathizers of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 19th Wards.

The undersigned committee request you to attend a meeting at Irven Hall, 429 Broadway, Brooklyn, on Sunday evening, May 22d, at 8 o'clock, to discuss the advisability of organizing an educational club and secure permanent headquarters.

Committee—Louis Weber, E. Simon, M. Stone, Gus. Rosenblath, J. Belpoliskly, W. L. Brower.

The election of W. Edlin, announced in last week's issue, from D. A. 2, was proven unconstitutional, and J. Schlossberg was unanimously elected by the D. A. as its delegate to the convention of the S. T. & L. A.

Rhode Island.

Several attempts have been made to reorganize the Speakers' Club for the congressional campaign in order to guard against a loss in the splendid vote of 2,900 rolled up in April. To accomplish this end demands vigorous, persistent work, and calls for effort from every comrade who is able to appear on the platform as a speaker, or as a chairman or literary agent. Two meetings have been held for this purpose and nothing has been done. One more effort will be made at a meeting to be held Sunday, May 22d, at 4 P. M., in Textile Hall, Olneyville, and the following comrades are especially requested to attend: J. McGuigan, T. Rowan, J. Rigney, C. Kroll, C. Dana, T. F. Herrick, A. P. Workman, G. La Dowaing; also Comrades Silverberg, of Providence, and Conole, of Pawtucket. T. CURRAN.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$2,221.10
Herm. Reich, New York City	26
"	27
N. Z. O.	35
Total	$2,225.28

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE and Socialist literature can always be had at Comrade C. O. Bruckner's store, 84 West Canton street.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

Looking for work.

A genteel, sober, trustworthy, industrious young man with good references, Hungarian born, but speaks and writes well English also in factory, warehouse, business or private house, or rise, so long if he not restaurant work and were he can be free at 6 evenings. Those willing to employ him will find his address at this office. J. PETERS.

Socialist Literature.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms, $1.50 per thousand.

1.—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2.—"Socialism," by William Watkins.
3.—"Why American Workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4.—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5.—"Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6.—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7.—"Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8.—"An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
9.—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
10.—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish).
11.—"Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions."

"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price, 1 cent per copy; 1,000 copies, $5.00.

"Women in the Past, Present and Future," by August Bebel. 25c.

"The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels. 5c.

"The Proletariat." "The Class Struggle." "The Capitalist Class." "The Co-operative Commonwealth." by Carl Kautzky, adapted by Daniel De Leon. Each 5c.

"Capital," by Carl Marx. 4 parts. Each 30c. Cloth, $1.75.

"The Eighteenth Brumaire," by Carl Marx. 25c.

"What Means this Strike?" Address delivered by Daniel De Leon in New Bedford, Mass. 5 cents.

"Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 5 cents.

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Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union. Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 33

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 22

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 26

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. 273 Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 885 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 336

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Krings, Business agent. 241

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8½ o'clock at 231-233 E. 33d Street. 328

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 8 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10.30 o'clock a.m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158—160 3. Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM ARBETAREN.

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Workingmen's Children's Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. of America.—The Executive Board meets every second Wednesday in the month, at 8 o'clock P. M., in R. Tiedts Hall, bet. 81st and 82d St., Second Ave. Financial Secretary: Reinhard Lachner, 312 East 84th street. 242

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